completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.] 301 304

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, *//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture Necklaces Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.] 301 [824] [435]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones *ga·rab. Ankle rings, *!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes. 301 439

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.] 221 [137 136] 221 233

Under normal rainfall conditions these wanderings to the pastures (ǂhabu·, v.) are regulated as to timing and goal by years of experience. During droughts, finding pasturage is more difficult and more urgent and more families than usual prepare for wandering. We know enough cases when the entire tribe has left its dwelling place. For an extensive journey, the hut is taken down and packed with poles, mats and household goods on oxen. The well-to-do Hottentot owns an ox wagon, of that well-known heavy kind, of 10 to 22 span, which the Boers introduced into South Africa. Before that time, the wandering Hottentot is supposed to have made a bed of strong branches on which he packed his reed mats, skins and household goods, harnessed oxen in front of it which then dragged the whole affair as if it were a sled. Just as the wagons supplanted pack-oxen, so have horses nearly supplanted oxen in Namaland as mounts. Nevertheless one still sees oxen [254] whose nostrils are pierced for the wooden bridle. 221 233 492 493 484

Thus, the Hottentot sets forth for the pastures riding and by wagon, if possible. The half-grown children have to drive the calves and smaller animals. They must drive them slowly, so that the animals can keep grazing and the lambs can keep up. Therefore it is customary for those who drive the small animals to leave early in the morning before the old people. The cattle are usually driven too quickly for them to graze properly while moving and therefore are left in the fields overnight. 233 221 484

Two hundred and fifty years ago the Hottentots were the wealthiest cattle owners in South Africa from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Cape of Good Hope. Van Riebeeck was a sober observer who didn't write his diary for the entertainment of the public. When he says (69) that at 175 233

69. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Riebeeck's Journal, Part I - III, Cape Town, 1897.

times in the area of Table Mountain the land was covered with cattle as with grass, we may believe him. In the first decades of the nineteenth century herds of cattle and sheep containing many hundreds were still not unusual. At that time it seems that the Bushmen did most of the hunting. Today part of the Hottentots have sunk to the level of their despised enemies and serfs. Today the Hottentot must 233 178

earn his living as a herder and a hunter unless he enters the service of the white man. [Picture. Namaqua trek ox, about 6 years old.] 233 178

A. Domestic Animals and Cattle Industry

1. Cattle

Tied up with the unsolved question of the origin of the Hottentots is the problem, how they came to own cattle. How did this people at the extreme southern end of the ancient world come into possession of this [255] domestic animal whose origin is to be sought in Asia? Egypt is considered the country which brought cattle raising from western Asia and handed it on to the pastoral people of Africa in prehistoric times. A narrow strip of land, which runs along the east coast of Africa from the upper Nile to southern Cape of Good Hope and is inhabited, except for a few areas, by cattle-owning Negro tribes, is perhaps the route that cattle followed as a domestic animal from north to south. (71), (72). 233 174

71. E. Hahn, Die Haustiere und ihre Beziehungen zur Wirtschaft des Menschen. Leipzig, 1896.

72. G. W. Stow, The native races of South Africa, London, 1905.

a) The cattle-robbing expeditions of the Hottentots into the territory of the neighboring Bantu tribes (especially the Hereros, partly also the Ovambos), in addition exchanging cattle with the Cape Dutch of the south, and the Bechuans of the east has mingled the cattle of Namaland all together, so that the race which the Hottentots originally owned, i.e. at the time they were discovered, can no longer be clearly determined. [Picture. Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71.3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53.5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129.5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and

1: Schultze--66A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

●233

Namagua trek ox, about 6 years.

1: Schultze--66B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hottentot cow. Breadth of the horns: 71. 3 centimeters. From the highest point of the forehead to the upper edge of the nose at the upper nostril: 53. 5 centimeters. Front height of the back: 129. 5 centimeters. From the middle of the horns to the root of the tail: 195 centimeters. One race is differentiated by the settlers as the Namaqua cow. It supposedly differs from the Hottentot cow by having a shorter, thicker head, shorter legs and squattier body.

squattier body.] The only clue is a tradition maintained by the natives 233
and the settlers which designates a certain cattle type as native to 174
Namaland and the model of the old cattle of the Hottentots. This cannot be proved. It is probably only a general likeness. Two such cattle are presented here.[1] An expert on domestic cattle will perhaps be able to distinguish what is characteristic of the Namaland race by a comparison (73) of these pictures with those of the "afrikaner," the

73. H. v. Francois, Nama und Damara, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Magdeburg (ohne Jahrangabe). [n.d.] ed.

Bechuans' and Damaras' cattle. */hō·nati is the name the Hottentot gives [256] cows imported from Europe, whose most noticeable characteristic for him are its small horns.

b) The propagation of South African cattle has certain common 233
characteristics in spite of the different racial mixtures. At the time of the best pasturage, i.e. in the fall when the summer rains of the so-called "great" period have fallen, in other words in our territory in March and April, the bull copulates most frequently and most effectively. Since the cow carries for nine months, calving time comes in December and January. The irregularities in the arrival of the rain and therefore of the sprouting of the pastures cause the time of copulation to vary and along with it the calving time. [Picture. "Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.]

The Hottentot keeps careful track of the increase in his herds by noting the life history of each individual cow. He knows the age of his cattle better than his own. He also knows about each cow in his herd, whether she is pregnant (*tra·nu, v.) and calving (!kχa/n/ī) for the first time, or whether she is bearing for the second or third time (/gam and *!nona· //kχum go/ma·s).

When the part right under the root of the tail of the pregnant cow loses its tension and the inner parts shake under the skin with every step, the calf is expected that same day. A herdsman [257] has to guard the cow then specially and bring the mother and the calf immediately back to the house.

The milk secretion of the South African cow, in contrast to our native cattle, has preserved its original function as a phenomenon of

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 66(A) and 66(B). --Annlyst]

1: Schultze--67A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

[p.256]

"Afrikaner" cow, native to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 5 years old with her third calf.

reproduction, is periodic like the latter, and adapted in quantity to the nutritional needs of the calf. Therefore the Hottentot calls the milch cow *//ora·go/mas (from //ora·, to bear). When the calf is old enough to nourish itself, the milk secretion stops and the cow "goes dry," */ō or ūf. The milk production of a single cow varies greatly. There are native cows who give milk, although in diminishing amounts, until shortly before the next calf, if the pasturage is good. If all the conditions favorable to milk production occur simultaneously, even the South African cow is supposed to be able to give 10 to 15 liters a day. About 4 liters a day seems to be average for the "afrikaner" race. (73) In dry years under certain conditions the cow gives so

233

73. Ibid.

little milk that the calf starves and therefore milking cannot be considered.

If the calf dies early or is born dead (≠kxa/m), the cow at first gives only a little milk, 1/2 to 3/4 of a liter night and morning during the first week, except for the "biesmilk" (see below) which is easily drawn off. Gradually, with proper treatment, the cow will give as much milk as one with a living calf. If the calfless cow does not wish to give milk, the Hottentot blows air in her genitals or he deceives her with the skin of a dead calf. All kinds of cattle, whether cows, goats or sheep which are milked without the aid of the calf or lamb are called oro·s. The milk production of the South African cow is supposed to be greatest after the third or fourth calf.

[232]

c) Although milking is man's work among the cattle-owning Bantu tribes, among the Hottentots it is regularly the work of the women and girls, the man only doing it to help out (concerning milking time see management of the herd).

[171]

Before being milked, the cow's hind legs are tied together with straps; if a peaceful animal above the ankle, if unruly right under the shoulder. Ones that buck are also firmly tied to a pole near the hut or to the kraal by a strap around the horns. The three methods of tying are differentiated as *!go·robis, *tĩ·bis and *ǂo·mais.

[258] If the cow is standing, the calf is allowed to suck for a short time (the younger ones longer than the older ones) and then the woman comes with the wooden pail, drives the calf away from the udder with a stick and milks. Where there are many cows, milking is done all

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai·daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called *tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk *tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //haǂmi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (*ǂhĩrasãǂb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called *!kãã//gyere//haǂmi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called *da//haǂmi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, goǂma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

sharpened for generations and practiced since youth, and then the knowledge that a mistake will cause him to wander around half-starved and without success for days, enable him to accomplish things which no white man can equal. [Picture. Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.] 233

The cows, go/ma·ti, are driven to the pasture early in the morning, then left to themselves. Evenings they come back of their own accord to the kraal. The milking cows know that they will find their calves there and the others are accustomed to go with the mother animals. Old cows which can no longer have calves are fattened for slaughter by placing them with the oxen. The latter wander farther afield than the cows that come home every evening, and therefore find better grass and graze longer, as they do not lose any time wandering back and forth. A sterile young cow, ǂgõ/a·s (also called gau/ǂkʉ̃as i.e. fat body), is [260] usually left with the herd as an ornament because she normally stays well-nourished and has a shining coat.

The calves (called tsaũna until weaned) are separated from the cows in the evening after they have sucked and placed in a kraal. The kraal, !ha/ra·s (3.st.) is usually made by the Hottentots from topped thorn bushes, more rarely from stones and clay and is an outdoor enclosure about as high as a man. The mother animals bed down in the open near by. Early in the morning the calves are allowed to go to their mothers and then are driven out into the field in a different direction from the latter. They stay out until evening under the constant guard of a herder. Only when a calf becomes seriously thin is it allowed to go along with the mother to the meadow (sao/, vb.).
[Picture. "Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.]

Breeding in the sense of a selection of certain animals or a regulation of the time and place of propogation is unknown to the Hottentot. The bull, //gõ/b, rules with complete freedom over his harem in the field, at the watering places and in the kraal. During the rainy season, from October and November until February or March he follows the cows closely. At the beginning of the dry season, after he has impregnated them all, he absents himself and lives alone in the field until the time of the first rains. Only when he cannot find enough water does he come near the kraal to drink. Otherwise he (//an) "lives" outside. Because of this and because of his bad temper, he is called [232]

1: Schultze--70A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

233

Damara Trek Ox. Breadth of the horns: 1.60 meters.

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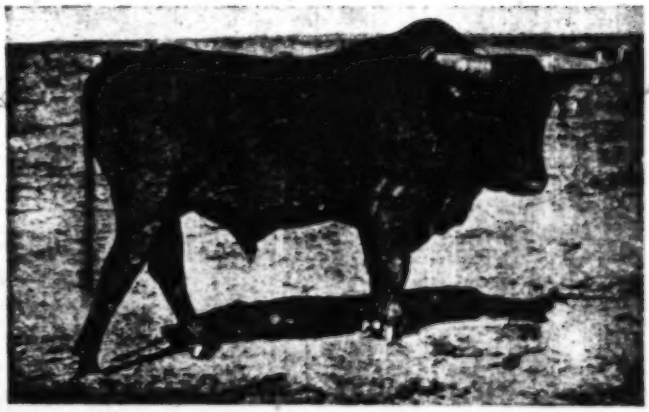
[260]



"Afrikaner" bull, 9 years old.

*//kχaο//an//gõ!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground. [824]

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *!kχamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep, 1/1 the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same thing. [171]

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi-, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term *kχoa·kχoa·dabi·b, because he has become 232 233

1/1 [i.e., whip. -Analyst]

"strong" (kx̣oa-kx̣oa-, vb.) by the postponement of castration. Actually he is stronger than those castrated young but he does not have anything like their endurance. [Picture. Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.] I was not able to observe how they train the riding oxen and the pack oxen (both called !ga-rub) and how they accustom the draught and trek oxen (ǂgaēgo/mab) to the yoke.

2. The Sheep and the Goat

Sheep and goats have exchanged their roles as to relative numbers in the herds of the Hottentots in the course of the last century. The fat-tailed sheep, gũ/b, according to reports from the beginning of the previous century, (6) once existed in tremendous numbers, but are now

6. Benjamin Morrell jun., A Narrative of Four Voyages etc. [so printed in Bib., ed.] from the Year 1822 to 1831. New York, 1841.

fewer in number than the goat, b(i)ri-b, which formerly was not kept at all. [Plate XI. A Topnaar hut under a giraffe acacia. Hottentot boy in an apron.]

[263] What the original race of sheep kept by the Hottentots looked like can no longer be determined. The illustrations here show sheep that are today designated as the Nama race by the settlers and natives. The same is true of the goats. [Picture. Nama wether.] [Picture. Nama goats.]

Goats and sheep are tended during the day in the field as are the calves and during the night are kept in the kraal. Individual goats or small groups do not need tending. They quickly get used to coming back home by themselves in the evening, recognize dangerous predatory animals which threaten them and flee, whereas sheep are stupid. But a larger herd of goats or sheep always needs a herdsman. Without him (not counting dangers and theft) the animals crowd each other in the pasture or scatter too far. An important job of the herdsman is to collect the animals in the shade of a tree or rock during the hot hours so that they rest. This gathering of cattle seeking shade is characteristic for the noon landscape of the pastures.

The lambs (//kx̣aogu) and kids (b(i)ri-rogu) stay permanently in a special kraal as long as they are little and are allowed [264] to go to the

233

[p262]

Nama ewe, height of her back 76 centimeters.

233

[263]

Nama wether.

Nama goats.

233 mother only in the morning and evening. When they are larger they go with the herd. To wean them, the udders of the mother animals are smeared with manure (ǂhau·ǀbe, vb. I heard older people say ǂhau·ǀra)

The billy goat (ǂkxa/ra b(i)rib, i.e. testicle goat) as well as the ram (baib, i.e. the butting one) (57) always pasture freely with the

57. J. G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

herd. However, the former at times leaves the herd of goats when he has serviced them all and tries to gain entrance into another herd, usually not without a fight.

[365] The goat is the chief milk animal (3/4 to 1 liter per day) of the poor, i.e., of the great majority of the Hottentots. Young billy goats are castrated and later slaughtered for a festival. Since their meat is tender in comparison with that of uncastrated goats, these kapater are called tsau· b(i)rigu. The sheep has a subordinate role in the herds of the Hottentots in numbers and in usefulness. The milk is only occasionally taken, for example from the animals which have lost lambs. The wool is only used on the skin but the meat is preferred to that of the goat and is made more delicate by castrating the rams. The tail [262] fat is the most desired part of the body because of its softness (it has the consistency of goose fat when tried) and its good taste.

3. Differentiating the Individuals in a Herd of Cattle

As a good herdsman, the Hottentot naturally knows each animal in his possession. Since the draught-ox in front of the Boer wagon pulls at command, the Hottentot gives him a name, a Cape Dutch name, 233 as he learned to from the Boers. [Picture. Kapater of the Nama goat 552 race] I only came across two instances [265] in which he gave his cattle (cows) names from his own language: bituru·s and ǃxã·sas. The latter name indicates that the cow was once found in a field by the present owner when he was fleeing (ǃxã) during war time.

More suitable for orientation and comprehension than individual 233 names is the designation of each animal according to color and marking. How extensive the scale is that the Hottentots use may be seen in the following list which I collected in numerous conversations with herders.

1: Schultze--73A N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

• 233

Kapater of the Nama goat race.

233 One is forced to define more precisely several popular designations. Checked: a few, large, irregular colored areas, often joined together. Spotted: numerous medium-sized separate colored areas. Speckled or dotted: innumerable, little, separate colored spots. We may disregard the solid colors.

a) The following designations are exclusively for cattle (unless otherwise stated):

1. */kx̃ĩ!na/m: With any general coloring, a black spot on each side is characteristic.

2. /hõ·: black and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and dogs).

3. //gani·: Reddish-brown and white checked; (also for sheep, goats and horses).

4. *≠nũ!/garu: speckled with black and white, (also for sheep goats and dogs). The marking of the guinea-fowl, for example, is characterized with /garu· (cf. the leopard).

5. */a·ba/garu·: speckled red and white.

6. *!aũ!huni·: referring to the greyish yellow-brown coloring of the rock-rabbit; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

7. *!u/ri≠gui!gã/: white around the mouth, nostrils and end of the nose bridge.

8. /a·baǂ!gã·/: general red coloring with a white back (not the reverse as might be surmised from a translation that is close to it but contradictory in meaning).

9. ≠nũ/ǂ!gã/: general black coloring with a white back.

10. *≠nũ/!na/meri: general black color. Belly white to the flanks.

11. */a·ba!na/meri: general red color. White belly.

[266] 12. *≠nũ/!nã/: general black color. Middle of the forehead and bridge of the nose white; (also for horses, goats and dogs).

13. */a·ba!nã/: general reddish-brown coloring, otherwise like 12.

14. *!huni!nã/: general yellow coloring with a blaze i.e. white stripe on the middle of the forehead and the bridge of the nose.

15. ≠nũ/!ao: any general coloring, but a black ring around the neck.

16. */a·ba!ao: like 15 but with a reddish-brown ring around the neck.

[Picture. A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer States.] 233

17. *!nā/kχao: any general coloring, but with white on the buttocks, also for goats.

18. *!huni· //gani·: yellow and white checked; also for goats.

19. *!nā//aē: any general color, only white in the groin.

b) only valid for goats.

20. *ǂnū/ǂūra: spotted black.

[Picture. Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.]

21. */a· baǂū· ra: spotted red.

22. *!goa/!ao: with a blackish-brown band around the neck.

23. */haiǂga·e: white behind the ears.

24. *!kχan!gã̄: with a light-colored stripe on the back like an eland antelope.

[267] 25. //aru·: (used by old Hottentots) speckled black and white.

c) Valid only for sheep:

26. *ǂu/niam·: black marking around the mouth (the black coloring on the mouth of the white sheep is as striking as the black jaws of a colorless insect larva (/u ni·s).

27. *ǂnū!- or /a·ba-χō·b: with black or reddish-born cheeks.

28. *ǂa·rib, also called *b(i)ritsinã·χas by children when teasing, is what a sheep or goat with naturally stubby ears is called.

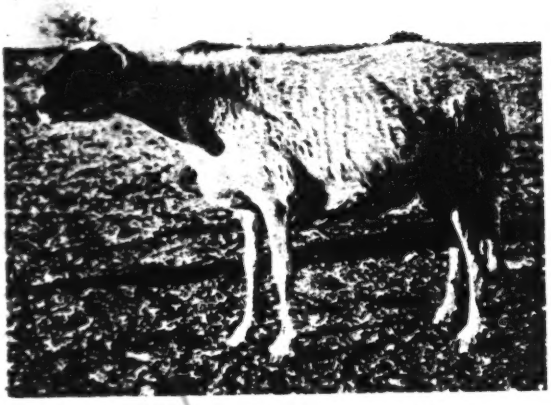
[Picture. Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white)]

A favorite hobby of the Hottentots is collecting (/gē, vb.) animals colored the same. To this end they trade cattle, sheep and goats. The Hottentot marks his cattle by definite cuts or notches, piercing or lopping the ears. 233 523

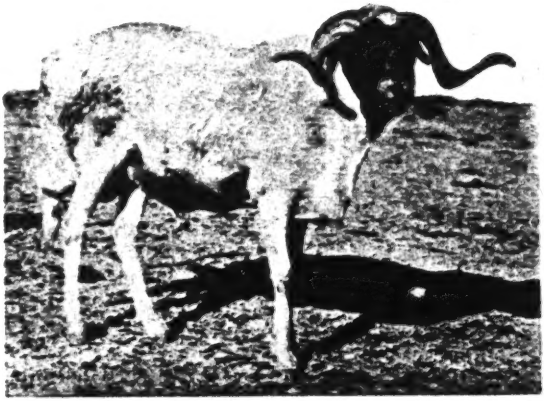
4. The Horse

The horse lives free in the fields as the cattle do and is easily caught at the watering places. Sometimes, especially in the broad plains of the Kalahari, the horse begins to turn wild and flees as soon as it sees a man coming from afar. If the tamer horses (easy to catch when alone) become accustomed to the leadership of such a shy animal, the owner is in a critical situation. In one case shooting the unapproachable horse was the only way of getting possession of the others. 231

233



A fat-tailed wether of the race of sheep indigenous to the Boer states.



Fat-tailed sheep indigenous to the former Free State and the Transvaal, 3 year old ram.

1: Schultze--75B N-5 (1903-1905) 1907 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Four year old ram of the same South African fat-tailed race. (Tail white.)

[539] particles gye and re indicate a frequent practice and at the same time the past) by (ǂa) the boys (aǂagu) with /kǂa) thongs (!haũgu) by the leg. Then she ran away (double vb.: !gũng and bē) and she went (≠gã) into (!na) a Buiver tree (//garas, Aloe dichotoma L.; see p. 112) and made (dī) the rock-rabbit (!aũsa) her maid servant (!gā) and every (hoa) day (tsēti) the boys [come] there (//nā) under (*!gao) the quiver tree; yes, there (//nāba) they come (hā) to drive up (double vb.: ≠nau "to hit," maĩ "to place") [the cattle], and yet (ǂabe, with the personal suff. of the subj.) they do not (/ū) know that (!kǂaiē) someone (kǂoēĩ "person," neut. sing.) is hidden (≠gana, vb.) inside.

Then one (/gui) of the boys was watching (!ũi) [the cattle] with the son (õab) of the mountain Kaffir woman (damas) of his mother (//gũs, di gen. particle). And the two of them (-kǂa, personal suff. masc. dual) went under the quiver tree to lie down (//goē). And
[233] when (o) the cattle (/goan, neut. pl.) ran away (!gũng; during the hot noon hours the cattle are driven together into the shadow of a tree), he sent ("allowed" gai, "to go") the little mountain Kaffir (damaroba) out to chase [them] back (//kǂai). And he went to turn them back, and while (hĩa) he [411] comes back (oa "to turn around," /goaǂa "to arrive"), fire (/aēs) smoke (/anā) becomes [visible], and while he comes he says: "Master (*/hon-kǂoētse, vocative), [don't] you (-tsa, suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc.) see (mũ) smoke (neut. sing. in the sense of some undetermined sort) rising (≠oa) from (ǂu) this (nē) quiver tree?" Then he looked there (gõ, vb.) and said: "You are lying!" (≠humi). But the little Kaffir said: "The smoke is rising into the air." Whereupon the former: "You are lying; in just a minute (/āse) I will hit (≠nau) you (tsi, personal suff.)."

And on the next (nau) morning (//goaga, "early at sunrise," in contrast to //goab "early before sunrise") the two of them come /kǂĩ) again (//kǂaba). Then they both saw the smoke, come up, and [the boy] said: "In just a minute I'll chop down (double vb.: //hā "to chop," !gao "to cut") the tree (hais) for us; open!" (//kǂoba am). Then they opened [for them] and the two went in. And the one (the young Hottentot in contrast to the Kaffir) married (!game) the girl.

Then they went away. And when (o) they came to (doba) a mountain (!homi), they said to (//ga) the rock-rabbit [in order to

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Chapter X

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Mode of Life and Subsistence

Daily Routine

The Hottentots in their independent condition derived their food supply from their cattle, sheep, and goats, from the game which they hunted, and from the smaller animals and wild plants gathered in the veld. In recent years most of them have lost their cattle, partly through purchase by other peoples, partly as a result of the wars through which they have passed; and in some cases they have taken to living round mission stations, where they practise agriculture in a small way by growing wheat, millet, maize, pumpkins, beans, and similar crops.

None of the independent Hottentots, however, ever cultivated the soil. They were dependent in the first place upon their herds and flocks for their well-being. Their life in consequence was nomadic.[1] They were always compelled to seek out pasture lands where they could find grass for their animals and water sufficient for their own wants and those of their herds. They therefore moved up and down the country in certain definite areas, following the grass and the water. Grass as a rule was more easily found than water, hence we see the different tribes laying stress upon the possession of waterholes, and otherwise taking little care to define their boundaries more closely. Their main encampments were situated along river banks or in the neighbourhood of springs and deep pools, and always in parts where grass grew most abundantly.

Even to-day the more independent Nama families still lead a nomadic pastoral life. As long as there is sufficient water and grass, a number of separate families may camp together; but when the available supply does not suffice, the people prefer to scatter, and wander away in smaller groups. In normal years their wanderings in their pasture grounds are regulated for time and direction by the experience acquired in the course of many years. In dry years movement is more urgent and necessary, and more families than

[1] Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 253–4; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 208; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," 24.

233 361 usual then trek away to new pasture lands. The change of residence as a rule does not go very far, for the rights of neighbouring tribes have to be respected; but within the tribal lands movement is usually unrestricted.

233 361 484 492 [415] The men fill their water-bags, made from the stomachs of cattle or antelope, put together the last portions of veldkos and dried meat, and then, with the help of their wives and children, take down their huts, roll up the mats, and tie the sticks into bundles, which are all fastened with straps on the backs of pack-oxen. Other oxen bear the household possessions and utensils, others again are ridden by the women and those too weak to go on foot, and the caravan sets forth. The adolescent children drive the calves and small stock slowly before them, so that the animals can pasture by the way and the lambs keep up with them. The drivers of small stock therefore break up in the morning before their elders. The horned cattle are driven too fast on the march to feed for any length of time, and hence are turned loose when a halt is made at night. The women [222] as they go along seek edible bulbs and berries, while the men supervise matters in general; and so they roam on till a suitable spot for the new encampment has been found. As long as sufficient water and grass are to be had, the people will remain camped in the most desolate spot imaginable; but when the need arises they will move on again. Their encampments are never permanent.

462 512 517 The principal occupation of the people is to look after their herds and flocks. Even this is light, and employs only the younger members of the family or the servants. The men spend most of their time in hunting or in visiting their traps and snares. When not pressed by hunger, however, they will remain about the huts, perhaps occupying themselves in the manufacture of weapons and utensils, or else is chatting to one another, with the inevitable pipe circulating among them. The women go out seeking veldkos,[1] or busy themselves at home with such domestic tasks as the weaving of mats and the working of skins. In this way the day is spent somewhat 512 leisurely. Only with the sinking of the sun and the return of the 517 herds from pasture does the camp liven up. Somewhere, perhaps, there is a feast needing to be celebrated, and dancing and music help to make it joyful; or, after the evening fire has been lit, the food prepared and eaten, the older people assemble round one of the fires to smoke and talk about the cattle or hunting, tell narratives of personal adventure, and so on, the younger men try their strength in wrestling

[1] [i.e., various wild bulbs and roots. – Analyst]

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exceptionally by the men.[1] The milk secretion of the cows is periodical and dependent upon calving and the needs of the calf. The flow ceases when the calf is able to fend for itself; the cow then "becomes dry", as the Hottentots put it. In times of good pasture some cows may continue to yield milk up to shortly before the next calving; in dry years, on the other hand, many of them occasionally yield so little milk that the calf hungers, and milking for domestic purposes is naturally out of the question. At milking, done early in the morning and again when the cows have returned in the evening from pasture, the calves are first allowed to drink for a while. Then the woman comes up with her wooden pail, drives away the calf, and after binding together the hind legs of the cow to keep it still procedes to do the milking. All the cows are milked at one sitting. If a cow refuses to give milk, as may happen when its calf has died prematurely, it is induced to do so by the substitution either of another calf sewn up in the skin of the dead one or merely of the stuffed skin, or else somebody stands behind it and blows hard into its vulva while the milking is taking place.[2]

The herding of the cattle is simplified to some extent by the fact that permanent water is found at only a few spots, known to both men and cattle, and both also know where water is to be found after good rains. These spots usually serve as the sites for the encampment. The oxen, only occasionally required for riding or for draught, need no special care in herding. They take their drink at the water, then go out to graze in the veld and rove at large, returning about every other day or two to drink. If wanted for work they can then easily be secured; if not, they rest in the camp during the remainder of the day, and then in the cool of the night proceed to the veld as before. The cows are driven to pasture every morning after milking, and left to graze unattended, till the attraction of the young calves brings them home to the kraal of their own accord at night. Old cows no longer calving are kept for slaughter, and allowed to graze in the same way as the oxen. They go further into the veld than the mother animals, and there find better grass and pasture longer. The calves are placed at night, after drinking, in a special enclosure of thorn bushes or stone, open to the sky, while their mothers sleep freely in the vicinity. In

[1] In this respect the Hottentots differ fundamentally from the great majority of the cattle-keeping Bantu tribes, among whom milking is essentially the task of the men, the women having very little indeed to do with the cattle, even, in some cases, being ritually prohibited from all contact with them.

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 257–8; Kolb, op. cit., 79–80; von François, op. cit., 258.

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233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even acting independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[S24] It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called *!abib*. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Naman. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 79; von François, op. cit., 257–8; Schultze, op. cit., 258–60; Ridsdale, *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand*, 83–4.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 261; Wandres, op. cit., 678. [3] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 82.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 260, 257. [5] Op. cit., 79.

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together with the pounded testicles of the new oxen.[1] A similar feast was noted among the Cape Hottentots by Jan Hartogh in 1707.[2]

The young oxen are trained to carry burdens or to be ridden. The pack-oxen are used for carrying the mats and poles of the huts, together with the few household utensils, which are bound securely on them with "riems" (long thongs of raw hide). The riding-oxen are guided by a bridle of raw hide, attached to a piece of wood or leather passed through the cartilage of the nose and serving as a bit. Instead of a saddle a sheepskin is thrown over the back of the animal and fastened by a thong drawn tight round the body. No stirrups are used, but both men and women ride the animals with ease, being accustomed to do so from childhood. "One can travel comfortably and securely in this way for a great distance and over rugged mountains," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "provided one is not in too much of a hurry." Kolb relates also that special oxen were taught to guard and keep the sheep together while they were grazing; such an ox, he says, is strictly obedient to the voice of its master, and flies round the pasture ground to bring back within proper limits those of the flock that are straying off! No stranger is allowed to come within range of the pasture ground; the ox drives off the intruder and gives the robber a rude reception. The Hottentot oxen, he continues, are even taught to combat in a body, like a regiment of elephants, against the enemies of the nation. This statement, at least, is confirmed by other observers, but one cannot resist doubting if oxen were ever really used as sheep-dogs. Nowadays, at any rate, they are generally employed for the far more prosaic task of drawing wagons, and have been almost entirely superseded by the horse for riding.[3]

The goats and the sheep, like the calves, are herded by day in the veld, and kept at night in the kraal. Single goats or small flocks need no care, and easily accustom themselves to returning of their own accord at night. Bigger flocks are put under the care of a herd-boy, who guards them from danger and theft, and sees to it that they do not spread too widely over the veld. He also has to collect them during the midday heat under some trees or a rock, where they may rest in the shade. The lambs while still small remain continuously in a special kraal, and are allowed to go to their mothers only before the

[1] Op. cit., 262.
[2] Quoted in Godée-Molsbergen, *Reizen in de Kaap*, ii, 9.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 253–4; Hoernlé, "South-West Africa," 24; Kolb, op. cit., 82–3; cf. Barros, *Da Asia*, quoted in Colvin, *Romance of S. Africa*, 20; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 323; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 237–8.

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morning and evening milking. The bigger lambs, weaned by rubbing the udders of the mother with dung, go with the flock, and so do the rams.

The goat is nowadays the principal source of milk supply to the poorer Hottentots, and is also the principal slaughter animal. In both respects it has quite superseded the sheep, which is now of little importance in Hottentot life. Its milk is rarely used, while its wool is valued only in the skin, used largely for making karosses. Its meat, however, is preferred to that of the goat, the fat of the tail being particularly relished.[1] It is interesting to note that the goat is never used in ceremonial meals, if it can possibly be avoided. This in all probability, suggests Mrs. Hoernlé, is due to the fact that it is not one of the original domestic animals of the Hottentots.[2]

The value placed upon their domestic animals by the Hottentots is reflected in the ceremonial life of the people. We have already noted, for example, how in the remarriage ceremonies the bridegroom, after his seclusion, must sprinkle the cattle and sheep with water before he is again allowed to go among them as usual; how menstruating women and others in the condition of *!nau* must abstain from milking, and afterwards be ceremonially reintroduced to it; and how girls passing through the puberty rites are conducted round the kraal in order to touch the male animals and confer potency upon them. In all these and similar rites we see the expression of the belief that the well-being of the stock depends upon healthy conditions being maintained in the community. Any breach with the traditions of the past, any toleration of slackness in carrying out the restrictions established for all contingencies in the life of the people, is bound to affect the stock adversely. Great care then is taken to keep all pollution from the cattle kraal, and the animals are included in any lustrations or other purification ceremonies that take place. We have also noted the use of female cattle and sheep in the important sacramental meals of the people, and there are in addition, as we shall see, certain occasions on which such animals are sacrificed directly to the tribal deities.

Kolb further describes two ceremonies among the Cape Hottentots specially connected with the live-stock.[3] The one takes place when the sheep are seized with distemper. As soon as the outbreak is noted, one of the old men is specially selected to slaughter a healthy sheep every day for three days in succession. The meat of this

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 262–4. [2] "The Conception of Inau," 73. [3] Op. cit., 61–2.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[72])

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 86, 74).